THE PROSPERITY of BRITAIN,

Proved from the

Degeneracy of its People.

A

LETTER to the Rev. Dr. BROWN,

ON HIS

ESTIMATE of MANNERS.

WITH

Some Thoughts on his ANSWERER in the REAL CHARACTER.

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THE

Proſperity of Britain, &c.

A

LETTER

TO THE

Reverend Dr. BROWN.

SIR,

THE regard I entertain for you, and reverence for my country, demand this teſtimony of friendſhip and ſincere patriotiſm. You will not take offence that I write with freedom; for you know me better than to ſuppoſe private attachments could ſtand in the way of publick utility. I have not been able in ſilence, to ſee your work, wherein I hardly find one error, accuſed of miſrepreſentation; or your frivolous antagoniſt, who meant nothing but to ſupport your cauſe, ſuppoſed by a dull world ſeriouſly to have confuted you: much leſs to ſee your reſpected friend, of whom perhaps the world,

as well as you, entertain a more favourable opinion, placed upon a level with the good ſecretary; and confounded with one whoſe talents, tho' for ought I know, very reſpectable, are as remote from his, as human underſtanding can give room for diſſimilitude.

Theſe motives influenced me with regard to you; but poſſibly under theſe I might have been ſilent: the concurrent thought that, with the miſrepreſentation of my friend, my country was miſled, render it irreſiſtible. Tired of a fooliſh and troubleſome world, I had laid down the pen, which theſe reaſons compel me, probably for the laſt time, once more to employ in the cauſe of publick utility.

You have ſhewn the Britiſh people are effeminate and diſhoneſt: your anſwerer confirms it by a thouſand teſtimonies; and no man who has eyes or heart can diſpute the truth.

You infer, that the ſtate is in danger; he, under the pretext of vindication, devotes us to certain and immediate deſtruction. Your purpoſe has been to wake mankind to virtue; his to rally you and the world together. Day-light is not more clear than the truth of that propoſition you both eſtabliſh; that no time has produced a people ſo effeminate, venal, fooliſh, and diſhoneſt as the preſent race of Britons.

Britons. But, though I grant the premiſes, we differ widely in the concluſion. You ſet down facts, and I ſhall trace their conſequences: obſervation may do the firſt; the other is philoſophy.

You have referred, with juſtice, all our vices to the firſt principle, Effeminacy. This cuts off a great deal of needleſs diſquiſition: for it is eaſy to prove he who is effeminate is profuſe, he who is luxurious is beggared, he who is beggared is venal. We only ſuppoſe the abſence of wiſdom and virtue, which you have proved, and effeminacy does the whole.

That *the Engliſh are effeminate* I take from you. You have aſſerted this, and your antagoniſts themſelves have confirmed it: but far from drawing your concluſion, I ſhall prove that *the kingdom is therefore proſperous.* This I ſhall ſhew from evidence and reaſon, from the concluſions of the human mind, and from the hiſtory of all nations. I will not compliment your anſwerer with ſuppoſing he had any perception of this: but I cannot deny that you ſeem to have underſtood it; though, like the ſages of our earlier time, you maintain a double doctrine. You bear throughout your elegant and excellent work the ſpecious appearances of common opinion: you ſhew the Engliſh are effeminate; and you treat this and their other faults as if deſtructive: but

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it appears your ſecret doctrine was, that thoſe faults are the proper guardians and protecting principles of a kingdom. This, which I ſhall prove, you ſeem to have underſtood: for otherwiſe when you had ſhewn the diſeaſe, you would have pointed out the remedy. Nothing is ſo eaſy to cure as effeminacy; but your virtue would not permit you to engage mankind againſt a foible, which is, and which you know to be, the preſerving quality of your country.

The pretence of philoſophers, and the vulgar belief throughout ages, has been, that wiſdom and virtue are neceſſary to the well-being of civil ſociety; nay, religion. But againſt this you muſt permit me to produce the teſtimonies I propoſed, of reaſon and experience. It is allowed philoſophers have taught this Doctrine of the neceſſity of religion: but it has been proved by him whom you eſteem the firſt writer of the age *, that not one of them believed this, though they taught it ſtrenuouſly. To the vulgar opinion of ſenſe and honeſty being neceſſary, it is obvious to anſwer, England does without them.

On theſe premiſes I ſhall prove that England is proſperous, that its people have neither ſenſe

* Divine Legation, Vol. 1. p. 182.

nor

nor integrity, and therefore that they err who believe ſeriouſly what has been ſaid by the wiſe, merely for the vulgar: and that you deſerve all poſſible acknowledgement for having ſo truly pictured the Britiſh manners; and the higheſt thanks for not propoſing a remedy for what is generally ſuppoſed deſtructive; but to you, palpably, is known to be preſervative of ſtates.

On theſe principles, which you have tacitly adopted, and which I propoſe to illuſtrate by reaſon and evidence, you muſt grant the following plain *poſtulatum*.

THAT CHARACTER OF A PEOPLE IS THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS TO A STATE, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF WHICH THE PEOPLE ARE MOST HAPPY.

This is ſelf-evident: and this granted, the whole of my deduction follows of conſequence; and is proved under theſe three propoſitions:

1. That WISDOM and VIRTUE are neceſſary to the PROSPERITY OF A STATE.

2. That all wiſe and good men have aſſerted this neceſſity.

3. That the people of England HAVE NO WISDOM OR VIRTUE.

From theſe it is evident, that the people of England owe their proſperity to ſome ſuperior quality. This quality, whatſoever it is, muſt be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick of this nation. From your writings it appears that the diſtinguiſhing character of the Engliſh is EFFEMINACY: therefore effeminacy is that ſuperior quality to which we owe a degree of proſperity greater than other nations have acquired by wiſdom and by virtue.

This is ſo certain, that it may be evinced by the eſtabliſhed laws of reaſoning.

1. Whatever ſtate has neither wiſdom nor virtue, yet is proſperous, muſt owe its proſperity to a ſuperior principle.

The Engliſh nation has neither wiſdom nor honeſty, yet is proſperous: therefore the Engliſh nation owes its proſperity to a ſuperior quality; which you have eſtabliſhed.

2. All great authors have aſſerted, that the proſperity of a ſtate can only be ſupported by wiſdom and virtue. You are a great author, and ſhew, that the people of England, who are proſperous, have neither wiſdom nor virtue; therefore you believe the proſperity of England

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is owing to a ſuperior quality; and you have proved that quality to be Effeminacy.

Therefore they have err'd who ſuppoſed virtue and wiſdom needful to the proſperity of ſtates: your antagoniſt has err'd, who ſuppoſes effeminacy to be hurtful to government: and the propoſition reſulting from this is ſelf-evident, that effeminacy, venality, diſhoneſty, and folly have a natural tendency to give proſperity to a kingdom. This you have known, though you concealed that knowledge; and this I propoſe to maintain: the purpoſe of this eſſay, being to ſhew that the Britiſh nation is in the certain poſſeſſion of honour and affluence; becauſe the people are vitious and beggared. This is proved by the preceding ſyllogiſms; it is evident from the preſent ſtate of the kingdom and the preſent character of the people; and if this be not allowed, there is no ſuch thing as reaſon or evidence in the world.

We are not ignorant that the greateſt men have maintained that virtue and wiſdom were neceſſary to the well-being of civil ſociety; but they are intereſted people, and are not to be admitted as evidences in their own cauſe: they have been wiſe and virtuous themſelves; and conſequently prejudiced. Nor is it impoſſible they ſhould have expected to be received into poſts and employments upon this recommendation. The

thing never happens, indeed; but it is not therefore impoſſible they might expect it; for philoſophers are a kind of viſionaries, and know little of the world. Such men are not received into places of truſt and importance; but it does not thence follow they ſhould give up the thought. As they are chimerical enough to imagine thoſe qualities uſeful, they may, without any great ſtretch of the ridicule, be conceived to ſuppoſe themſelves neceſſary becauſe they poſſeſs them: but the truly wiſe know otherwiſe; the diſtinction of moſt importance is between practicable and impracticable men: a miniſter is to judge of things himſelf, not to let others judge for him. The wiſeſt and moſt honeſt are the moſt untractable; and whatever ſpecious pretences may be made, for ſtateſmen, as well as philoſophers, they have their double doctrine. Obedience is the beſt quality of a ſubordinate officer; and the leſs men know, the better they obey. This is the rule of war, and it may be extended univerſally.

Saint Auſtin ſays integrity and knowledge are the two pillars on which reſts all good government *; and the renowned name of St. Jerome may be produced for the ſame ſentiment, though cloathed in more words: but we know, and the world ſhould know, in what eſtimation to hold

* De civitate dei, 17.

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the ſentiments of theſe men. The Jeſuits themſelves have accuſed the firſt of obſcurity and contradiction; of inconſtancy in his Doctrine, and of dangerous errors: you are not to be told that father Adam advanced theſe charges in the ſeventeenth century; and that father Annot, confeſſor to Lewis the Fourteenth, ſupported and enlarged the cenſure: and I know you will ſmile at the reverend futility of the anſwering cardinal †.

As to St. Jerome, we know how vague, and careleſs he has been in his reaſonings. Nor would any one place much confidence in a man who accuſes even the apoſtles of hypocriſy ‡. The reverend ruſt of years is on theſe names: but wipe off the enamel, and the braſs appears.

This is free ſpeaking, but it becomes the cauſe. The proſperity of Britain is intereſted in the diſquiſition; and it is fit we ſet aſide that authority which ſupports idle propoſitions, when it can be done with truth and juſtice.

We ſee then, and the world will ſee, that the principles of government hitherto eſtabliſhed have been falſe; that they have been propoſed by a ſet of viſionaries; for the other authorities

† Defence of St. Auſtin againſt the Jeſuits, p. 44.

‡ The paſſage is in his commentary on the ſecond epiſtle to the Galatians.

are like thoſe we have named; and that an inconſiderate world received the tenets, becauſe they did not ſee thoſe were intereſted perſons who endeavoured to eſtabliſh them. This reaſon declares; and this experience confirms.

That experience is moſt felt which is neareſt home; and the deciſion of this point is as familiar from hiſtory as upon the principles of logick. The compariſon of the laſt age and of the preſent, with reſpect to Britain, will ſhew in what condition the kingdom was, when guided by wiſdom and ſupported by integrity, according to the good old mother doctrine; and in how much more glorious a light ſhe appears at preſent, under the conduct of effeminate manners and confeſſed venality.

In the reign of Elizabeth we were indeed victorious at ſea, and puſhed the commerce of the kingdom farther and more ſucceſsfully than in any other equal period of time: but we were little better than ſavages. Our men of faſhion ſubmitted to drudgeries that would not be now the office of a footman. Maids of honour eat beef for breakfaſt, and the queen herſelf rode to church on horſeback, behind her lord high treaſurer. Would any one wiſh to reſtore the days of this Elizabeth; or can there be a mind ſo groſs as to prefer a belt and pillion to a vis-a-vis! It may be we owe the varniſhed body and the

double ſprings to this effeminacy you have charged upon us: but if eaſe be preferable to rude diſquiet, and poliſhed manners to a brutal roughneſs, our national character has improved under the dominion of effeminacy.

The advantages we have gained are, a better figure in the eye of ſtrangers, a better taſte in expence, and a more enlarged way of thinking. The prejudices of education have been ſhook off with the brutality of manners; and we are virtuous upon a nobler principle than fear. A fine gentleman would not raviſh, becauſe it is indelicate; nor commit a murder, leſt it ſhould ſtain his cloaths; for it would be abſurd to pretend the fear of a Creator's anger, or dread of everlaſting puniſhment influenced him. We are not leſs heroes becauſe we are more delicate.

Theſe are the advantages we have obtained; let us weigh againſt them the benefits which might have ariſen from a cultivation of the ſame rough ſpirit. With regard to the opinion of others, we were feared throughout the world for our bravery at that time; and we are now reſpected for our politeneſs. Is there a man that would prefer the fear of others to their reſpect? If there be, he is no modern Briton. As to the matter of commerce, we might perhaps have ſtretched it farther; but the trading part of the nation are too rich already; and trade itſelf is

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but a mechanical conſideration. It may ſerve the Dutch, and while they are ready to be drudges to the whole earth for a trifling advantage, who would wiſh to take the buſineſs out of their hands?

One article more is to be conſidered in the compariſon of that age and the preſent,—the ſciences; and in this the advantage is altogether in our favour. Encouragements they are not indeed to expect; for effeminacy is too delicate to enter into their dry reſearches: they are left, like virtue, to reward themſelves; yet ſuch advances have been made in them, that we are reſpected in other countries for our knowledge, almoſt as much as for our politeneſs.

This is the fair compariſon, and we ſee the advantage is all on the modern ſide. We are a more polite, a more learned, and more reſpected people than we were in the time of Elizabeth: and as we have had no particular inſtitutions in favour of good breeding, nor publick rewards for ſcience, it is evident we owe this change only to ourſelves, and in ourſelves ſolely to this effeminacy of manners. This triumph they have obtained againſt venality itſelf; for we do not attribute any of theſe benefits to that additional quality; though we do not preſume to queſtion the ſyſtem of thoſe ſtates who now declare it uſeful.

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There is a period, it will be ſaid, that we have omitted in this account; the time between the reign of Elizabeth and the preſent: but the events are ſimilar. The improvement of knowledge, and the progreſs in the polite arts have been continued during that interval, though with interruptions: we grew martial, and we become coarſe; we ſettled into a more gentle turn of manners, and arts roſe with politeneſs: in the battles where Marlborough gained laurels, the nation was impoveriſhed; and it was found at length, that the war was much more convenient for the general than the people. Since this, it will be ſaid, while we have been improving the ſciences, we have loſt territories: it will appear from this, that we are better philoſophers than ſoldiers; but is there a man ſo diſtracted as to underſtand this as a reproach! The compliment is as much higher than any which could have been paid in ruder times to our arms, as the ſoul is ſuperior to the body. Ruffians may make conqueſts, but the heroe of the modern world has ſhewn us men ceaſe to be ſoldiers when they attend to the nobler leſſons of erudition.

There will be wit in objecting to this national applauſe, that while we have been perfecting Algebra we have loſt Minorca; and while the nation is honoured for the phœnomena of electri-

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city, the French have paſſed the Weſer. But it is anſwered, that theſe poſſeſſions are tranſitory: the advances in knowledge are univerſal and eternal. Provinces change maſters, but the improvements in ſcience do honour for ever to thoſe kingdoms wherein they are made: the leaſt of them are recorded in indelible characters; and are the proper glory of the age as well as country wherein they had their origin.

Theſe laurels we have gained by arts, whatever we have loſt in arms; and theſe we owe to that principle you have ſuppoſed deſtructive.

As to our loſſes in the mean time, they are far from important in the compariſon; the chance of war that gave them firſt to us, may hereafter reſtore them. Till then, we can do without Minorca; and the French have only placed themſelves where they originally had Barbarians. Perhaps this has not been regarded, but that once polite nation is now running back to a ſtate of ſavage life as faſt as we are improving in all that does true honour to our nature: their improvements in ſcience droop under the preſent influence of arms, and the ſtep they have now taken, carries them back to their ſeat of priſtine barbariſm; while their manners will accompany them in the change of place, and ſuit them to their ſeat *.

* Legendre, in his hiſtorical account of the French, proves they came from that part of Germany which lies between the Rhine and Weſer. Mœurs & Contumes Francois, p. 14.

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This is no uncommon conſequence of war. Conqueſt firſt brought the anceſtors of thoſe who now occupy the moſt fertile countries from waſtes and deſarts; and by that time another people have cultivated thoſe provinces war carries them thither again. This is the courſe of conqueſt, and what is the advantage?

Charles the Twelfth drained Sweden of Men, and left his ſucceſſors hardly kings: it is not impoſſible the king of Pruſſia may be repeating the ſame conduct; and is there any man ſo weak or obſtinate to think it a ſource of praiſe? War is ſupported robbery, and authoriſed murder: circumſtances do not alter the nature of things; nor is every thing juſt which the greateſt do, becauſe they dare.

Our anceſtors have made ſufficient conqueſts; and we know of what ſtuff heaven uſually makes heroes. Ourſelves are too effeminate to puſh the havock farther; and while we owe the arts to this delicate texture of our nerves and fibres, we ſhall alſo be indebted to it, and to the temper which reſults from it, for the preſervation, if not of all our bloody fathers gained, at leaſt of all we know how to enjoy or uſe.

The ſame delicate frame which indiſpoſes us for action, will make us feel the moſt remote ap-

proach of danger: and to be early warned is to be always guarded. Our anceſtors, the ſtubborn oaks of our natural heaths and hills, ſtood fearleſs till the Dane and Saxon laid the ax to their roots; and they fell accordingly: ourſelves, like the ſenſitive plants we raiſe in ſtoves from foreign ſeed, ſhrink at the leaſt blaſt of wind: but we recover till the ſhock returns.

This is the nice ſenſation on which depends that elegant effect you call effeminacy: and would you wiſh it baniſhed? Is not ſenſation the character of animal life; and would you wiſh us to loſe it? The more delicate it is, the more perfect; and the more perfect, the more we ſhew the dignity of our nature.

The ſame delicate conſtruction that gives us this early notice of danger, fits us for the moſt excellent and difficult reſearches of philoſophy. Who ever heard of a hero that had underſtanding? It is evident we ſupply the place of this brutal quality with the intellectual eminence; and to reduce the long argument to a ſhort concluſion, will any one deny that the Engliſh have more honour in Mr. Ellis's diſcovery of Polypes making corallines, than the French in D'Eſtrees over-running Hanover? If that gentleman had poſſeſſed no more underſtanding than a Richlieu, he might have been battering French caſtles, inſtead of diſcloſing the wonders of an Engliſh inſect. You have

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ſaid we are effeminate as a reproach; I have ſhewn you, that to effeminacy we owe theſe diſcoveries and thoſe everlaſting honours that will accompany them: and while the attention of the great is fixed upon them, who ſhall ſay to what glory the kingdom may riſe?

I have ſhewn the convenience and utility of effeminacy to a ſtate; but there may be much more ſaid in its cauſe; and its neceſſity may be ſhewn upon as abſolute a foundation. The more ſavage virtues, ſtrength and courage, and the religious and philoſophic, piety and wiſdom, have exalted communities for a time, and kept them in their ſtate of glory; but the duration has been ſhort; ſtrength and courage are the proper qualities of beggary and brutality. They languiſh under that affluence they have raiſed; and only the ſuperior character of effeminacy is laſting.

If we enquire into the hiſtory of nations, we ſhall find this verified; and if in the more abſtruſe manner of reaſoning we deduce the cauſes, we ſhall in the ſame manner find the truth. Conqueſt belongs to the ſtrong, and the extending territories to thoſe of deſperate minds, or deſperate fortune. Thus all invaſions have been determined and executed. A people miſerable and robuſt, for theſe characters attend on one another, ſee plenty and wealth in the province of

another ſovereign; they arm, they fall upon the unoffending ſtrangers, and they are ſucceſsful. This is the natural conſequence; for hardſhip makes them ſtrong, and luxury has weakened the others: but the act is robbery, and the price of the purchaſe murther.

They eſtabliſh themſelves in blood, and the juſt poſſeſſors become ſlaves.

Enjoying the affluence and proſperity of the conquered, they aſſume alſo their manners: from hardy they grow weak, and from valiant timorous: for as valour ſprung from the deſire of poſſeſſing what was the property of others, cowardice takes its place from the dread of loſing what is their own: they are conquered in their turn by another people ſuch as themſelves had been; and the deſcendants of thoſe who reduced others to ſlavery become themſelves ſlaves.

Time, often the revolution of many centuries, is required to this, but it is the natural courſe of things; nor is it needed to alledge one inſtance in the hiſtory of any particular nation, for it is the fate of all.

It appears that ſtates have in themſelves the ſeeds or principles of their deſtruction: that the natural conſequence of conqueſt is the being again conquered; and that there hitherto wants

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in the ſyſtem of common policy ſome quality to be encouraged that could preſerve them.

It muſt not be courage, for that ſeeks new conqueſts, and as we ſee at this time under that intention, leaves the firſt open to danger; not wiſdom, for that is inactive; nor piety, for no Hercules will help unleſs the ſhoulder be put to the wheel at the ſame time the prayer is offered. What is called virtue cannot be the principle, for that affects only the ſtate itſelf, and has no influence on its enemies.

The plan of government is therefore defective; the rules are falſe which venerable dotage has eſtabliſhed, and there is required ſome quality they have not named to ſupply the defect.

This quality is Effeminacy. A ſomething is wanting that ſhould in time give notice of danger; and what ſo delicate in its ſenſations as Effeminacy? It feels the remoteſt touch upon the ſtrings of that conſtitution which ſupports it: and has nothing of that hardineſs which defies danger. Effeminacy knows the value of its poſſeſſions; and the dread of loſing them will make it generous: ſenſible it has no ſtrength itſelf, it will never rely upon that quality in others: it will purchaſe ſecurity by money or by conceſſions, nay by both, by every means that offer: it will never face the enemy it cannot oppoſe,

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nor ſpare the eighteenth penny which might have kept the other ſeventeen in ſecurity.

By this readineſs of perception, and freedom in buying off danger, Effeminacy ſupplies the only defect in former policy, and is the inſtrument of preſerving what courage gained.

Britain is at this time the ſtrongeſt inſtance hiſtory could alledge; and you who have ſhewn Effeminacy to be the reigning principle of the times, have proved for me that is the cauſe. If it be objected that Rome was effeminate before it fell, the anſwer is ready, the Romans took up the character in the decline of their empire; and it was therefore ineffectual: we have aſſumed it in our full ſtrength, and we muſt be immortal. It is no reproach upon a remedy that it will not reſtore the dead; we are happy who have taken it before the criſis of the diſeaſe. You have ſhewn that we have neither wiſdom nor virtue, piety nor courage: the world ſees we are ſucceſsful without them. I have proved that ſome quality unſeen by former politicians is neceſſary for the preſervation of a ſtate; and your writings prove that quality to be effeminacy, for you allow us no other: Effeminacy is by all men allowed to be a ſtate of degeneracy in the deſcendants of a people once brave and manly: we owe our preſent happy condition to that quality; therefore the

Proſperity

Proſperity of Britain is owing to the degeneracy of the people. Quod erat demonſtrandum.

Beſide theſe advantages to the body of a nation, effeminacy is of the utmoſt benefit to the great in their particular fortunes: Effeminacy enters into no plots: Effeminacy fights no duels: Effeminacy is indolent, and laughs even at ambition. It preſerves the poſſeſſor of its character from thoſe falls which can only happen from the greateſt height, and enſures ſecurity from dangers. It is to univerſal effeminacy we owe the univerſal abſence of ambition: the great offices of ſtate lie vacant many months; and they who at length accept, on the leaſt blame reſign them. What drew the old poſſeſſors out of power, but the fear this delicate quality inſpired, when the horrible word *enquiry* was ecchoed from an alehouſe meeting; and what ſaid he who reſigned the dignity he had ſo long ſought, frighted at the ſword that glittered over him:

> Quid Craſſos quid Pompeios evertit, et illum
> Ad ſua qui domitos deduxit *flagra* Quirites
> Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
> Magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.

That proſperity is dependent upon virtue is an antient doctrine; but it is one of thoſe errors which ſhould have been long before this time ex-

ploded. The vulgar believe whatſoever their teachers tell them; and this propoſition, which from the fathers of the church has paſſed thro' the pulpits to the congregation, has been received as truth by men through their whole lives, who have yet ſeen it every day contradicted in their experience.

It is not to be denied but St. Irenæus, whom we find celebrated as the firſt in erudition *, has ſaid that proſperity is the fruit of virtue; but are we to believe St. Irenæus againſt our ſenſes? or let me aſk you to whom all hiſtory is familiar, is Irenæus unimpeached of error?

What is proſperity but wealth? And are the moſt virtuous of mankind the richeſt? It is ſtrange men do not in any courſe of life perceive that nothing ſtands ſo much in the way of getting riches as virtue; nor was there ever an inſtance of a man who gave the preference to one that poſſeſſed the other. There is ſomething abſurd, even to ridicule, in the vehemence with which the threadbare curate preaches the utility of virtue, and aſſerts in his darned caſſock the certain proſperity that attends it. Himſelf is probably an exception to his doctrine. Virtues that would do honour to a mitre are buried under his brown hat; and his rector, whoſe proſperity

* Omnium doctrinarum curioſiſſimum exploratorem.
TERTULLIAN.

he

he cannot but envy, has purchaſed the cure with a covenant of immediate reſignation.

Let the preacher bluſh to read this: unleſs beggary be proſperity, and ſimony be virtue, he has vented falſhood from the pulpit.

This being apparently falſe, let us change the propoſition, and ſee whether truth on the other hand will not ſtand confirmed by ſtrong examples, to him, his rector, and his congregation. I will not conceal names: it is to you I addreſs this, honeſt and learned *Hawkins!* You have no Effeminacy: you have toiled through the perplexed paths of literature nineteen years with unquench'd thirſt of knowledge; and unabated labour. You have lived that time on ſeventeen pounds a year a pattern of integrity. Tears interrupt my praiſe: and have you found proſperity?—Maſter of antient and of modern learning, one broken pane has given you cold theſe four years: and I have known hunger confeſs integrity would not get you credit for a breakfaſt. Is it you that preach proſperity the conſequence of virtue? fie!—to the hedge or plough; leave a profeſſion that is unworthy of you: but firſt change the propoſition: ſay it is ſimony, and turn your lazy rector up to preach it.

Indeed not the clergy nor the fathers alone, the whole body of antient legiſlators and philoſophers have preached this doctrine; but it has been in the

ſame manner againſt their own conviction. While they have ecchoed from one another the praiſe of virtue; while they have exerciſed it as their trade, which of them all has taſted of proſperity? Was the dependance of the divine Socrates on the charity of thoſe who followed him wealth? or was the tub of Diogenes a palace? Indeed, if theſe men found virtue ſuperior to all conſiderations, and (like thoſe who dared die becauſe their death was of more uſe to their country than their lives, even when they knew not a futurity) preferred their own opinions to the deciſions of univerſal mankind, then they may be ſaid to have felt what they profeſſed. But what is this when reduced to argument? They ſaid proſperity was the ſure attendant upon virtue; and having no other proſperity themſelves, they held virtue to be itſelf proſperity: they had told mankind before, that virtue was its own reward, and this was the ſame doctrine in another form: the juggle of terms perhaps aſſiſted; but the thought was nothing.

Many words do but perplex an argument. Virtue is proud and obſtinate; but to be proſperous, men muſt be humble and pliant. This is the ſecret, and there is no other: he who expects wealth and honours without this temper, expects the end without the means, and his folly aſſures his diſappointment.

We

We may declaim upon the utility of virtue as you have preached it; and cite all the ſages of old time, and every nation's hiſtory, to prove that ſuch were once the ſentiments of mankind: but the ſame hiſtory ſhews the weakneſs of the propoſition, and whilſt we mean to ſtrengthen the doctrine, we overthrow it wholly. Athens and Rome and Sparta and the reſt received this ſyſtem; laws puniſhed thoſe who violated the rules of virtue; and they had honours and rewards who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ſtrict practice of it. But where are Sparta, Rome, and Athens now? We repeat their cuſtoms without conſidering the conſequences; and talk of them as if there were three worlds, and each of them was now miſtreſs of one.

Theſe people adhered to the old policy; a ſyſtem, indeed, now ſcarce known more than in name; and we ſee the effect it had upon their duration. There have not yet been inſtances of a people who have preſerved the character of Effeminacy throughout a ſeries of ages; ſo that we cannot ſay how far it would or would not have preſerved them: but England bids fair for a trial, and probably will have the glory to have ſhewn the world that this is the ſecret of continued ſplendour.

There have not wanted aſſertors of a ſyſtem contrary to the vulgar in this reſpect; but they have exceeded our plan, and have therefore failed: if Auſtin, Irenæus, and a thouſand more have wrote to prove the utility of virtue, we read in —— What was he who wrote the fable of the bees—that vice, not virtue, is uſeful to ſociety. This was the extreme upon the other ſide. Dum vitant ſtulti——Weak men know no change from one extreme but to the other: there is a middle path, and we have found it: effeminacy is neither vice nor virtue; it may preſerve a ſtate for ever, becauſe it falls into none of the cauſes that would bring on its deſtruction: what prevalence it would have againſt the deſtructive conſequences of virtue it is impoſſible to ſay; for we are the only people who have fairly tried it. But that it can preſerve againſt every vice within the reach of human nature we give teſtimony: we have them all; and I know no other cauſe that has any claim to our preſervation.

If it appear ſtrange to you, that a quality ſo harmleſs in itſelf, and ſo beneficial in its effects, has not been named by Puffendorf or Grotius; or called into the real common-wealths of wiſe Greece, or the fancied government of Plato; you muſt obſerve they had not opportunities to know its prevalence. There is a natural contempt

tempt of effeminacy in the valiant and the wiſe, and not one of theſe ſtates but had one or the other of thoſe characters. Neither are we to ſuppoſe civil polity, any more than ſcience, carried ſo far as not to admit improvement. If we would reſolve to admit nothing as true but what Greece or Rome or their ſober imitators have taught us, we muſt give up the hope of all improvement. 'Tis true that Diocles (but who is it ſhall ſay who Diocles was) underſtood electricity; and we know that was explained and well aſſerted before the doctrine was received in England: but we have ſince adopted politics from the Weſt Indies, and philoſophy from North America, ſuch as no Greek or Roman ever dreamed: and who ſhall ſay the novelty is againſt the truth of any ſyſtem?

We are ready to allow that faith and honour were once the characters nations affected to reſpect in one another; and virtue and wiſdom the qualities in which they gloried among themſelves: but the college now proceeds upon another method.

That method is the contrary of every thing heretofore eſtabliſhed; and conſequently has a fair chance to preſerve the people who adopt it throughout endleſs time; for the other practice has always ended in their deſtruction.

Now

From the defects and errors of all former ſyſtems of policy we neceſſarily infer the utility of this. In one or other of the antient governments all the virtues have been adopted; and we could name ſome of modern date that have not omitted any one of all the liſt of vices: but they have fallen together.

The perfection of governments is their duration; and there is nothing in nature to prevent it, if right means are followed. Now, as neither good nor bad will anſwer the purpoſe, there remains only to try what is neither good nor bad; and of this middle nature we may with ſafety declare Effeminacy. Unhappily you have endeavoured to rally or abuſe this quality juſt when we had formed great expectations from it; and your pleaſant antagoniſt under the ſhow of conteſt has ſtrengthened your arguments. You have been univerſally read, and all who have read you have approved your ſentiments: this is the happy omen. For foreigners obſerve the Engliſh always neglect what they approve: and this expectation we may reaſonably entertain, that Effeminacy will triumph over your aſſaults, only becauſe your conqueſt is too abſolute.

I have ſhewn what expectations we may reaſonably entertain from the preſent prevalence of this delicacy; and I deſire we may enquire together

gether what charge there lies againſt it. We know the inſolence of the theatre, and have ſeen with a juſt diſdain the attempts of the firſt genius it ever boaſted to render that quality ridiculous: but the attempt was as vain as the raillery of a Chalkſtone. Who laughed the loudeſt at the one, or who moſt conſtantly hobbled in to ſee the other? Names were indecent on ſuch occaſions; but you are ſenſible they were the moſt womenly man in England, and the moſt abſolute cripple.

What entertainment of polite life is there for which Effeminacy is not qualified? what duty? What employment? Effeminacy ſhall play at cards, cut jokes, and dance a minuet with the beſt proficient in Europe. Effeminacy makes a good figure in the boxes, it ſhines at operas, and is at home in the circle. Thoſe in whoſe gift are poſts of honour and the higheſt truſt, know Effeminacy is qualified to fill them: for you would not preſume to think they had beſtowed them unworthily. Effeminacy can command fleets, and make no inconſiderable figure in our armies; and you and I know (but that between ourſelves) Effeminacy can write ſatirs, and can abuſe itſelf.

'Tis inoffenſive, gentle, and complying; incapable of offending, ready to forgive offence, ductile, quiet, ſober, and ſenſeleſs. This is the character: now look about and ſee who they are

that

that are moſt honoured: you will tremble to find how high your ſcandal reaches.

That this nation has arrived at a degree of proſperity none ever knew before, you cannot but allow; and you muſt be mad beyond Anticyra if you can doubt its long continuance in that proſperity: yet there appears no cauſe but this; no reigning quality we have in a degree ſuperior to other nations but Effeminacy. It is plain therefore, that is the ſource and origin of it. You cannot open your eyes in a court-aſſembly, or turn over a page in a court-calendar, without ſeeing this gentle quality diſtinguiſhed with dignities and honours. Effeminacy is hung round with ribbands, and covered with epithets of honour and diſtinction; effeminacy commands reſpect; and valour, wiſdom, piety, and virtue kneel to it in vain; for Effeminacy knows none of them.

While this quality is honoured from the lord to the lacquey, what is the fate of courage? It languiſhes without employment, and ſtarves in obſcurity: what honours are conferred on him who has found the way to make ten thouſand men conquer forty thouſand; or what rewards are voted by parliament to the maſter of the Roſemary-branch, whoſe patriot virtue gives ten ſhillings in the price of the piſtols to be won by by the beſt ſhooter, at a time when the Hanoverian

verian huntſmen have been deſtroyed, and there is ſo abſolute a neceſſity for markſmen.

Friends as we are, you muſt not wonder at the ſide I take in this diſpute; for the good cauſe needs it. Other qualities which have been only ſuppoſed uſeful to a ſtate have been inculcated by precept, ſupported by authority, encouraged by rewards: whi'e this, which is truly what they ſpeciouſly pretend, ſtands neglected and uncelebrated. Who has wrote in favour of Effeminacy; or who among the multitudes that have rewarded it, or been rewarded by it, has the courage to profeſs, or to own it as the cauſe of honour?

In other caſes, indeed in all other, what is uſeful is made laudable: philoſophers inculcated humility, who were prouder than their kings; and I have ſhewn, and you have allowed it, that the wiſeſt and the beſt of them taught religion, though they diſbelieved its greateſt tenets: that not one among them all credited or could credit the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, although they with one voice aſſerted it: that the new and old academy, the Pythagoric, and the Platonic, the Peripatetic, and the Stoic, all diſbelieved a future ſtate, though they preached it to the people; nay, that they could not believe it. This is the fate religion has met with among heathens; now mark the conduct of chriſtians in regard to this innocent, this

mild and inoffenſive quality which has been ſhewn to be the beſt preſervative of ſtates. Thoſe who are moſt perfectly devoted to it erect no trophies to its praiſe: under all that ſenſe which genius and learning entertain of its excellence, no *ode*, no *eſtimate* has ſpoke the glories of Effeminacy.

That it deſerves applauſe from all men may appear from me; who, though its advocate even publickly, have no pretenſions to its excellencies: and that nations are preſerved by it when no other cauſe can be aſſigned, muſt be allowed by all who have conſidered the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom. It would not be difficult to prove, if riches be proſperity, that all nations are proſperous, in proportion as they are effeminate.

The beggar Swiſs ſtarves on his frozen mountains; as far from proſperity as from Effeminacy: the Ruſſian, hardy, numerous, bold, and wiſe, makes ſlow advances to that dignity and eminence: he has every other requiſite, but droops becauſe the great Czar knew nothing of Effeminacy.

France, while its people were brave, free, and virtuous, lived in clay huts, with boughs for covering; its food the chance-produce of the chace, and all its territory a wild waſte; the worſt of all the German territory.

Thus

Thus France remained till it became effeminate: but from the time its rulers adopted that great principle, its power, its territory, and the reſpect of nations encreaſed: it made large ſtrides toward the dominion of the old world, and now uſurps the new. All this under no other guardian genius, no guide, director, council or conduct, but Effeminacy.

It is to this principle that kingdom owes, and therefore we fear it will preſerve, its preſent greatneſs. Virtue would have preſcribed faith in treaties, and cut off half the conqueſts ſhe has made by unexpected attacks: courage would ſend her fleets to ſea, her armies to the ſcene of action; and one would ſink, and the other fall, before the thunder of Britain, or the ſword of Pruſſia. Effeminacy paves the way to the more gentle methods; and while arms are the ſhew, the work is done by gold.

In Italy what peace, ſecurity, and plenty! while Europe is involved in blood and famine. How long that ſtate has held its independence; and how long it will; under no human influence but Effeminacy. If we ſhould ſay religion kept thoſe princes in awe, from whom that kingdom might fear moſt, children would laugh at us. Theyhave ſtroaked the bugbear, and they know

its impotence: but while Effeminacy prevails, they are ſecure.

Laſt and moſt eminent, we may name our own country, once hardy, honeſt, faithful, and brave; yet in thoſe times brutal and miſerable; the dupe of every more cunning ſtate; and valiant only to its own deſtruction. We have now changed the character: more effeminate, (at leaſt you ſay ſo) than the French, we ſhall, like them, give up thoſe dangerous qualities, and truſting to that diſcernment and thoſe riches which naturally grow up with Effeminacy, we ſhall get back by art, all we have loſt by arms. What we cannot obtain that way, we ſhall purchaſe out of the overflowings of that wealth which riſes from effeminate manners.

The doctrine I advance is founded on your principles: we differ only in the application. If what you affirm be true, the proſperity of this kingdom, founded upon the rock of Effeminacy, and ſupported by the vaſt butments you have raiſed of folly and venality, is everlaſting: if it be otherwiſe, you are to anſwer it. If Britain be under the guidance of a wiſe, brave, and honeſt miniſtry, its fate may be as deſperate as that of any of its neighbours.

But you have given us the verbum ſacerdotis; and we muſt either entertain of you or of ourſelves

ſelves the moſt contemptible opinion: I will not ſuppoſe you capable of miſrepreſentation; and I congratulate my country on the proſpect from your writings.

I have obſerved that the natural attendants on Effeminacy are luxury, debauchery, venality, and fraud: and whether or not theſe juſtify your charge, let any man who is converſant in the world determine. From the meaneſt tradeſman to the - - - the practice is univerſal, and a thouſand characters have no reſpect or weight againſt the temptation. The commoner who dared to dine upon cold mutton, and ſhew the miniſter that he was not aſhamed of it, might laugh at offered riches: but thoſe were days of ſavage ignorance. Effeminacy and its attendant arts render the pine neceſſary, and that the proſtitution.

The antients, who knew the utility of that doctrine which taught a future ſtate, inculcated it by myſteries: and their poets celebrated theſe under the garb of fiction. I know not to what ſage we owe the modern inſtitutions of effeminacy, debauchery, and fraud, but they are abundant; and the Eleuſynian myſteries were not more ſecret from profane eyes, nor better guarded. The drawn ſword and the vacant antichamber preſerve the inviolable ſecret of maſonry: and Antigallicans have little leſs of form or of ſecurity. The purpoſe is evident:

evident : no maſon ever laid a ſtone; and who conſiders whether France be at peace or war? The ſot drinks at the expence of the ſober; and a hundred people are plundered to enrich two or three who are in the ſecret. The myſteries of the heathen world were never better calculated to inculcate a belief which thoſe who invented them diſclaimed, than theſe modern aſſemblies, clubs, and aſſociations, are to keep up in the vulgar a ſpirit of Effeminacy, which is not profeſſed, under a pretence of publick virtue which they who inculcate it do not believe.

Perhaps if we look into the depths of policy, and compare other principles with this, in the fate they have met under the direction of mankind, it will appear that thoſe who have no Effeminacy in themſelves are the moſt earneſt to encourage it in others; and that while we are becoming great by this principle and its concomitants, luxury and venality, thoſe under whoſe direction we live have no tincture of the one or of the other. It is not only poſſible, but on a fair enquiry it will appear true in other caſes, that the patronage of a quality in others is no proof at all that the patron himſelf poſſeſſes it. It may be found, that while we are encouraged in degeneracy, we are conducted by men not degenerate; and that while the people are encouraged in venality and folly, the rulers are wiſe and virtuous.

I would

I would not wiſh to powder this diſcourſe with paradoxes: but what is reaſon in one caſe cannot be folly in another, where there is any parallel.

Religion has been, from the original of all ſociety, conſidered as an eſſential part of its eſtabliſhment. When men grew faint, they grew alſo fickle; and thoſe who had preached up, if I may apply the phraſe to orators and ſtateſmen, the purity and ſole truth of the religion of their country, as ſoon as they ſaw it loſe ground, permited many others. They knew the neceſſity of religion; they knew that any religion was better than none; and when one form failed of its purpoſe, they gave liberty to others.

Thus ſprung up toleration; a ſyſtem which prieſts of the eſtabliſhed church muſt abhor, for it interferes with their power and profit; but which others will approve.

Now, if we look into hiſtory we ſhall find thoſe ſtateſmen gave moſt toleration, who had leaſt religion in themſelves: and I do not know whether it will not appear, that in the preſent time they encourage effeminacy who are not effeminate; they give employments to fools who are themſelves diſtinguiſhed by their underſtanding; and they rule in venality who in their own proper perſons abhor proſtitution.

Theſe are the inconſiſtencies of the human mind; at variance for ever with its own opinions: and perhaps under this circumſtance the problem on which our ſecurity as a people will depend is this, Whether the virtues of our ſtateſmen, or vices of the generality, will have moſt weight in determining the fate of the kingdom. You ſay, the vices which overturn ſtates are not thoſe of the multitude, but of the rulers: perhaps the doctrine is in ſome meaſure true. But if this be abſolutely the caſe, the proſpect is certainly alarming: I do not know that it is likely to happen, but if the people ſhould take example by the virtues of the preſent adminiſtration, I cannot ſee, upon this plan of reaſoning, what would become of us: aſſuredly the profeſſed ſcheme of proſtitution muſt fail, for no exchequer would have wealth enough to bribe one man who trod in the ſteps of our diſtinguiſhed and almoſt idolized modern patriots.

This would give a new turn to things, and would call upon us for new ſyſtems: but till it is likely to happen, we may poſtpone the forming of them. In the mean time, we who are advocates for Effeminacy ſtand ſupported, even when we aſſert it againſt all other principles, by the everlaſting and unanſwerable argument of experience.

If

If the antagoniſts urge from all reaſon, and allege from all authority, the neceſſity of virtue and wiſdom for the proſperity of a ſtate; we may point to Britain, and tell them there is no arguing againſt experience.

Nor are we to imagine this general depravity, even if it affected ourſelves, would be of any injurious conſequence to our own characters for wiſdom. If it be true, as has been proved if there be proof in logic, that the antient ſages and lawgivers did not believe the doctrines they profeſſed, ſurely it muſt be allowed this kingdom abounds with excellent philoſophers. Why ſhould you inſult a whole people for Effeminacy who are yourſelf effeminate? why ſhould your anſwerer quarrel with you who meant only to ſupport your cauſe? and why ſhould I write in character of your friend, who mean to overthrow your ſyſtem? to ſhew thoſe principles are preſervative of a ſtate which you wrote to prove were deſtructive; and prove to yourſelf that you are a much more reſpectable perſon than you know?

Does it follow from a man's giving patronage to virtue that he himſelf is virtuous? the worſt great man you can name is not without that claim to reſpect: would you infer, that becauſe a man countenances vice, he is therefore vicious?

It does not appear that men are patrons to qualities they want or regard; and as an author you ſhould know it. Does the liberality of the patron of de Moivre ſhew he underſtood mathematicks? or did he mean any thing who dedicated a ſpelling book to the lord mayor of London?

The Great patronize becauſe they are great, not becauſe they regard the object or need the aſſiſtance: and the vulgar cavil at their actions, not becauſe thoſe actions are bad, but becauſe themſelves are the vulgar: this is the liberty of Engliſh ſubjects, and we may diſtinguiſh in the cauſes wherein they exert it, how thoroughly they are initiated into Effeminacy; and how heartily they deteſt courage.

Blakeny, who defended St. Philips with a handful of men againſt a numerous army; who had before grown grey in the ſervice; and who there ſupplied the place of a legion of abſent officers, returning was rewarded by his king, with dignities, honours, and a fair appointment. Theſe were the thanks of the ſovereign to his brave old ſoldier; but have we not ſeen a nameleſs defamer, with as little modeſty as truth, arraign his conduct in that very inſtance?

If human wiſdom and impartial virtue ever attained their utmoſt height, was it not in him who

who lately held the higheſt office in the law? His king diſtinguiſhed his virtues, and rewarded him with that employment; but popular clamour was on the other ſide. He withdrew his ſervices; and they have felt the loſs of them.

Perhaps it appears from theſe inſtances, that the ſuppoſition of vice and folly's predominance being limited to the multitude, was well grounded: the world has not ſhewn ſo good a king as now ſits, and Heaven grant may long ſit, upon the throne of England; and if a miniſter was ever diſtinguiſhed by virtue and by wiſdom, we can boaſt of him. Shall I draw the neceſſary concluſion, or will you, who underſtand logic as well, ſay the book cloſed in the laſt page, and this is a woman's poſtſcript?

Whatever you judge in this reſpect, you may be perfectly aſſured of one thing, which is, that I am, with all that regard your great merit and good intentions to your country deſerve,

Sir,

Your humble Servant,

A NAMELESS FRIEND.

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